



Komsomol presenting on 5th August Guard of Honour to the Great Leader of the Proletariat.

COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH MEMORIAL DAY

Hold Aloft Banner of Marxism-Leninism

Comrade Pritish Chanda's Call at 5th August Rally

'The observance of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day is no ritual for us. Every day, every moment, on every question, we are guided by his thoughts; his teachings are the beacon light to us to conduct our revolutionary struggle towards its historical culmination and his memory is enshrined in our heart. But occasions arise, when, in the specific particular situation, we are to grasp his teachings more concretely in order to be able to apply them appropriately and more effectively. It is not only for the workers of the SUCI but for the entire toiling masses of India, for the toiling people of different countries to bear in mind his teachings constantly and intensify the class struggle in the correct course towards the goal of communism.' Revealing with these words the significance of observing the Memorial Day of the beloved departed leader, teacher and guide, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Comrade Pritish Chanda, respected member of the Central Committee of our party, began his address to the vast assembly at the Saheed Minar maidan in Calcutta on 5th August.

Gorbachov leadership of the Soviet Union is saying and doing. Reagan, Thatcher, Mitterrand and the like are full of glee. On the other side, the world proletariat and the genuine communist forces of different countries aspiring to hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism feel deeply concerned at these developments. We, too, feel deeply concerned. The Polit Bureau of our Party is studying all what Gorbachov has said since he became the General Secretary of the CPSU in

party, the decisions of the 19th Conference, etc. At this meeting I wish to draw your attention to the major aspects or the major questions arising from all these decisions. Because, many of these questions are agitating afresh the workers of the communist movement as also the common people in general.' Proceeding further Comrade Chanda observed: 'The present leadership of the Soviet Union has made current two words — 'Glasnost' and 'Perestroika'—which mean 'openness' and 'restructuring' respectively.'

of the Soviet citizens and, above all, reform the Soviet political system to help implement successfully the programmes of 'perestroika'. What does this political reform mean? Their argument is that they aim at establishing social justice, creating a democratic atmosphere and making socialism humane. We like to ask them: Well and good, but democracy of which class you mean? Lenin taught us:

"Let the liars and hypocrites, the dull-witted and blind, the bourgeois and its supporters hoodwink the people with talk about freedom in general,

They are talking of socialist mental makeup the need to restructure the economy, change the

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The speech of our beloved General Secretary Comrade Nihar Mukherjee at Ghatsila on the occasion of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day, 5th August, this year will be published in the next issue. For some unavoidable reasons we cannot publish it here.

—EDITOR, P. ERA.

Analysing the dangerous role of modern revisionism in the international communist movement today, Comrade Chanda dwelt in particular on the recent developments in the Soviet Union and the CPSU. 'Comrade Ghosh had given caution, far back in the late Forties, about the shortcomings

and drawbacks of the international communist movement and their possible consequences in case these were not rectified properly. Today's developments bear out the truth of his warnings. The revisionist deviation we witness today is endangering the socialist system. The capitalist-imperialist camp is jubilant over what the present

1985, the decisions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU in 1986, the decisions taken afterwards by the Central Committee of the CPSU, the speech of Gorbachov on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of November Revolution, the document prepared by the Central Committee of the CPSU before the recently held 19th Conference of the

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Bangladesh Mass Struggle : Resplendent in Secular consciousness

The protracted struggle of the Bangladesh people against autocracy has taken a new turn. It has acquired a new dimension the significance of which is not confined to Bangladesh alone. We feel it carries a deep significance for and has a definite bearing upon the struggle of the people of the whole subcontinent for democracy, liberty and emancipation. Particularly, we the exploited Indian masses can imbibe a lot from the present mass struggle in Bangladesh, and there are many educative aspects of it which open up the opportunity and possibility for us to free ourselves from many a confusion, influence of many a motivated propaganda. So, to us, the main question at this moment is not whether the struggle being inspired by the democratic consciousness in Bangladesh on demands of true secularism will come out victorious or be defeated; the very democratic consciousness which makes for such secular demands to be raised, makes this struggle glorious. We salute the common people, youth-students, the intellectuals, artists and litterateurs of Bangladesh.

President Ershad's military rule that has stuck to power by trampling upon the Constitution, democratic norms, electoral process—everything, now seeks to confer legitimacy on its unlawful existence by taking up religion as its last weapon. Placing the eighth amendment to the "Constitution" before their unlawful Parliament created through farce of a got-up election, Ershad administration has declared that Islam will henceforth be the State religion in Bangladesh. The Left and democratic forces of Bangladesh have stood up in revolt against this. Widest sections of students have rallied round them and the poet-artists-litterateurs, teacher-professor-intellectuals have come out on the streets in support. Bangladesh is now in a tremendous commotion. Bold protest of the student community is erupting in flames, barricades are being up, blood is being shed in towns and villages. They contend: despotic Ershad is trying to use religion as the last shield to protect his unlawful, illegitimate rule from mass wrath—Tear this deception apart! They voice: the very concept of a State religion is violative of secular democratic principle; the consciousness guiding the 1971 liberation battle from which sprang the State of Bangladesh, is a secular

democratic consciousness; the declaration of Islam as the State religion is nothing but a vile conspiracy to give burial to that consciousness and swamp the Bangladesh people and the nation into the quicksand of fundamentalist sectarianism! They say: Bangladesh does not belong to the Muslims only but also to Hindus, Christians, Buddhists, Jains, atheists—everybody; so Islam, or any religion for that matter, cannot be declared as the State religion there; a particular religious character of the State will reduce those who profess other religions or are non-believers to second class citizens—a concept abhorrent to any democratic-minded person, not to speak of the people of Bangladesh imbued with the secular democratic consciousness of the liberation struggle. So, slogans for scrapping this government declaration and throwing out of power this illegitimate, despotic ruler rend the skies of Bangladesh. In the present situation when, not only in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran and other countries of the Middle East but in our country, too, elaborate preparations are afoot to lead astray the mass struggles against exploitation-oppression and the people's fighting spirit through reviving and fanning up fundamentalism, are not the secular democratic

consciousness of the people of Muslim-majority Bangladesh, its unambiguous expression, of immense significance? Is it not the duty of democratic forces of every country to hail unreservedly this militant consciousness of Bangladesh people and strengthen it through extending moral support?

Throughout the six years since despotic military rule was clamped down on Bangladesh through the military uprising on 24th March 1982, movements against the autocratic rule and on demand for restoration of democracy have been going on there. In the first phase, the 15- and 7-party combinations led this movement. After the dissolution of the 15-party combination, the movement is being conducted under joint leadership of the 5-, 7- and 8-party combinations. Almost the total mass force of that country are in the struggle against military rule. Through this mass movement for restoration of democratic rights, gradually the demand for resignation of Ershad and his military junta emerged as the chief, nay, the only demand. Through the naked farce of a got-up election, Ershad wanted to provide the semblance of legitimacy to his military rule. But the agitating people there have held that anyhow holding an election does not mean democratic rule. Where there is no rule of law, no independence of judiciary, no right or freedom to hold meetings or form organisations and the freedom of Press is totally absent—it hardly matters whether the people can exercise their franchise or not. So, though Ershad tried, he failed to convince the people that a mere election meant democracy or anyhow forming a government through an election of sorts meant restoration of democratic rule. Because, the people

of Bangladesh have seen with their own eyes what shameful farces were the "referendum" of 1985, parliamentary and presidential elections of 1986 and lastly, the parliamentary elections on March 3 this year. From their own experience, people have found that whether during Ziaur Rahman or Ershad's time, no fundamental change came about in the administration in spite of repeated elections. It is the unconstitutional and illegitimate rule that has continued unabated. It is on this reasoning that the demand was raised that the illegitimate Ershad government must resign. That is, with or without election, this government is illegitimate and the people do not accept its existence. When the government sought to establish its legitimacy by pointing out that the Constitution was sacrosanct, the public opinion queried: What is this Constitution? This is not the Constitution that was adopted in 1972. The democratic norms, fundamental rights of citizens and the tenets of economic - political - social equality that the ruling class was then forced to incorporate in the Constitution in the face of mass consciousness aroused through the liberation struggle—where are those now? Through amendments and clamping down Black Acts one after another, the Constitution has been reduced to a shield for protecting the despotic Ershad rule and the military junta. In their language, "By assuming a different form, that Constitution now adorns the hands of generals in uniform as the spearhead to rob the people of their rights." So, all the amendments must be repealed, all the Black Acts revoked! From this main demand thrown up by the movement in Bangladesh it is clear that this is no aimless agitation. Although not on behalf of the leadership of the united platform as a whole, there are at least some forces in this leadership

which have sought to conduct the movement with a definite goal and ideology. A rift had come about in the united platform because of the compromising tendency of a section and there was even the precedent of this section being taken in by the election-hoax of the Ershad regime. But since the effort to place the movement on the firm basis of a definite goal went on side by side with it, the continuity of the movement could be maintained and the compromising forces have had to return to the mainstream of movement. The situation is such that that the ruling clique is in no way able to establish before the masses the legal and moral legitimacy of the Ershad rule, its election and its parliament. The present regime has practically no credibility in public eyes. And it is precisely because of this that religion was brought in. If the religious-minded people can be confused by wielding religion as a weapon, then rifts can be brought about in people's unity and attempt can be made to rally mass support behind this illegal government by providing it a label of legitimacy in the name of religion—such is the calculation. Also, the government needs the reactionary fundamentalist forces to be with it in order to crush in the name of religion the possibility of advancement of the progressive Leftist forces and the spread of Left-oriented consciousness that have arisen in the long process of movement. To these has been added the desire to worm into the favour of the fundamentalist governments of Middle East and the imperialist powers so that monetary and other help can be obtained from them in the interest of the capitalist class of Bangladesh by beating the drums of Islam. By exposing this heinous conspiracy of the Ershad regime, the Left and democratic forces there have shown that

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Bangladesh Mass Struggle

once the Pakistani rulers, by thus using religion as a weapon, had attacked the language-education-culture of East Bengal by terming these anti-religious and organised indiscriminate genocide by branding the national liberation movement as "anti-Islam"; and the mass force of East Bengal could rise up and resist precisely because the people's united struggle was above religious, communal and parochial considerations and the people's militant consciousness in the liberation war sprang from the fighting unity of the whole people transcending religion and from the yearning for emancipation from exploitation. It is through this liberation struggle that the secular consciousness developed there: all citizens are equal in the eyes of law; religion should not be dragged into politics and social life; religion is the personal affair of the citizens, they could practise religion in private life but that has no relation with the State affairs. Today, the Ershad regime has declared war against this very consciousness born of the liberation struggle. And the progressive, democratic, Leftist forces of Bangladesh have given the call for a crusade to counter this. What the 5-party combination has announced in an appeal to the religious-minded Muslim masses, is an object lesson to the religious Muslims of all countries. They have said: Those opposing Hazrat Ali, the fourth Caliph of Islam, adopted the stratagem of using the Koran as a shield in their war against Hazrat Ali; Hazrat Ali then said that if the Koran was sought to be protected anyhow being taken in by this trick, only the outer shell of Koran would remain but its message would be obliterated; and if one really wanted to uphold the the message of Koran, then he should strike out at the deceivers in the name of religion along with their Koran and finish them off; even if the book be lost by this, its essence, its message would become engraved in the hearts of the Mus-

lims. By recalling this teaching of history, they have exhorted the religious-minded not to be confused and misled but to come forward unitedly in the battle to put an end to Ershad era. This is the stand of even those who are believers of Islam. Such is the struggle of true religious-minded people, too, against the political deceivers in the name of religion. This voice from Bangladesh is not of a handful of educated persons, it is the voice of aroused militant masses.

It is natural for Indians to examine the state of affairs in this country in the mirror of the current mass struggle in Bangladesh. If the image of our country and society is revolting, so what? We must have courage to accept the reality. We may engage in self-delusion by denying it, but we cannot make any headway thereby. If the Hindus in this country feel that their salvation lies in singing to the glory of Sati and if the Muslims think that their participation in the Ram Janmabhumi - Babri Masjid agitation is their road to *Behest*, who can save us from downfall? When a minister in this country goes to a temple on the eve of election to give floral offering and receive blessing, the Hindus feel: Truly, he belongs to us. But they do not know that right at that moment, another minister or leader of the same party may be attending *namaz* (prayer) in a mosque. Observing this, the Muslims think: It is this minister or leader and his party that can safeguard our interest! When the Prime Minister wears a turban and participates in Bhangra dance in his palace courtyard, a religious Sikh might think that he is so fond of the Sikhs! After the massacre of Harijans in Belchi, the then Opposition leader Smt. Gandhi went on a visit there on elephant-back and the oppressed Harijans thought, "How concerned she is about us, we must vote for her!" A set of Harijan

Congress(I) leaders sprang up overnight. But the caste Hindu *jotedars* (rich peasants) knew that their power would remain intact in all regimes. So, sensing a Congress(I) victory in the coming election, one of them took charge as the chief of election propaganda of that party. Subsequently, did Harijan-killing cease during Indira Gandhi regime? What becomes the net result of such disjointed, partial thinking of the people? When, after mass killing of Sikhs organised by the ruling party in the wake of Smt. Gandhi's assassination, their Government said that it was but the natural expression of the anger of the masses, a public support of sorts was created for such heinous crime. The naked truth that it was a Government-approved killing of citizens, was glossed over. On the plea of Punjab situation, the draconian Anti Terrorist Act was clamped down. Even such thought spread among the people that it was an issue concerning Punjab, a question concerning the Sikhs alone. Subsequently, when the same Act was applied to Darjeeling in West Bengal, many got startled but again, it was possible for the so-called Leftist government of West Bengal to take the plea that "it is merely for teaching the Gorkhas in Darjeeling a lesson". At Maliana in UP, the government police force cold-bloodedly hacked to death helpless Muslim people in the name of quelling riot. No united public protest was even voiced against such a ghastly, pre-planned killing and the big political parties did not raise a finger. The purpose of the government was served. The government succeeded in putting across the message that it was on the side of the Hindu majority. The Hindu revivalists were delighted and struck a clandestine understanding with the government. The Opposition took upon itself the task to explain to the hapless Muslim masses of

Maliana, "Congress(I) will not look after the Muslims. So, do not vote for them." They did not say: Which religion the murderers belonged to and the murdered were from which religion—such should not be the reasoning in the present era; in this era, the thing to be examined is, which class is attacking and murdering which class; if should be spelt out that in the last analysis, it is the oppression by the rulers on the ruled — there is no question of caste-community-creed in this. This is the message the militant consciousness of Bangladesh seeks to convey.

Though not correct class consciousness, the secular democratic awakening once came about to a large extent despite many limitations in undivided India from the body of which was carved out Pakistan and subsequently sprang up free Bangladesh. But today, when the democratic mass - consciousness in Bangladesh is branding Ershad's mosque - going and chanting Islamic slogans as political devilry and bursting out in protest, in India, not to speak of active resistance, there is not even a concerted voice of protest against the heinous effort of the Indian ruling class to subtly revive Hindu fundamentalism. Today, the situation there is such that Ershad does not dare to go to an university in Bangladesh to eulogise the State religion of Islam. But in this country, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, while addressing the convocation of a educational institution like Visva-Bharati in West Bengal, could tell with impunity that the path of true progress lies in cultivating old religious traditions; he had even the temerity to say that the stress laid on cultivation of religious tradition in the curriculum proposed under the New Education Policy — was adopted from the thoughts of Rabindranath. Leaving aside the students, there were many Tagore connoisseurs, many a famed intellectual present in the

assembly. Why did not they and the many more who learnt this afterwards from newspapers protest against such unashamed practice of falsehood? People do not expect the "Rabindrite" intellectuals to remain unmoved at the perpetration of such slur upon the name of Rabindranath! All right-thinking persons are pained at this role of the artist - litterateur - intellectuals of the country. They no longer consider active participation in protest against governmental oppression, social injustice and evils to be their duty. To them indifference to socio-political problems has become synonymous with artistic creed and freedom. When the intellectual circle of a country falls victim to such ruinous thinking, it truly spells dark days for the society. Even those intellectuals who are listed as "progressives" by the "Left" Front government in West Bengal, who label each and every "cultural" (!) programme of this government as progressive, are virtually silent about these attempts for revival of Hindu fundamentalism.

In fact, it is the Leftists, first and foremost, who must discharge this responsibility. It is they who have taken the leading role in Bangladesh. But when Hindu communal forces are today rearing their ugly heads in this country with direct or indirect support of the ruling Congress(I), the big Leftist parties are not only not playing any role against that by imbuing the masses with true democratic consciousness, but they themselves are striking covert understanding with various religious organisations and communal forces in their lust for governmental power. The people in West Bengal saw that the CPI(M)-led government did not shed a drop of tear for the peasants killed by its police at Santipur and summarily turned down the demand for an enquiry; but on the issue of police firing on the

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about equality in general, about democracy in general.

We say to the workers and peasants; tear the masks from the faces of these liars, open the eyes of these blind ones. Ask them:

Equality between what sex and what other sex? Between what class and what other class? Between what nation and what other nation? Freedom from what yoke, or from the yoke of what class? Freedom for what class?

Whoever speaks of politics, of democracy, of liberty, of equality, of socialism, and does not at the same time ask these questions, does not put them in the foreground, does not fight against concealing, hushing up and glossing over these questions is of the worst enemies of the toilers, is a wolf in sheep's clothing, is a bitter opponent of the workers and peasants, is a servant of the landlords, tsars, capitalists."

The present leadership of the Soviet Union is talking of democracy, social justice, etc., in vague and ambiguous

terms. It is well-known that a socialist state means a state conducted under the proletarian dictatorship in which democracy is totally different from the so-called democracy of the bourgeoisie; in fact much higher and wider than that — it is the democracy of the proletariat, of the working people. Lenin had once observed that proletarian democracy was million times more democratic than bourgeois democratic republics in the world. But this is not to be found in the speeches of Gorbachov or in any documents of this leadership; in fact, no such terms as the proletarian class or the proletarian democracy feature in these. Actually, what Gorbachov is saying today echoes what Khrushchov had said earlier. Our party had sounded a note of caution, among other things, far back in 1956 when the Khrushchov leadership sought to describe at the 20th Congress of the CPSU the Soviet party and the Soviet State as the party of the whole people and the state of the whole people. You know that after going through the Report to the 20th Congress, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had observed:

"The 20th Congress of the CPSU has opened the floodgate of revisionism." Our party had observed at that time that unless this fresh assault of modern revisionism was fought back through intense ideological struggle it would lead to greater danger in future to put socialism at stake. Today, in reality, we are faced with that dangerous consequence — the Soviet socialist system is at stake.

Gorbachov is arguing that his 'perestroika' means a new revolution. However, the question uppermost in the minds of the world proletariat today is whether is this a 'revolution' or a counter-revolution really. It has been argued that 'perestroika' is in continuity with the Great November Revolution. The question being asked is whether it is truly in continuity with the November Revolution or a course just in the opposite direction.

Comrade Chanda pointed out: 'You will hear this leadership saying so many things in favour of its new policies, but nowhere a word of struggle against capitalism - imperialism. They have gone to the extent of saying that in this age of 'technical revolution' and nuclear arms

Lenin's thoughts and teachings on capitalism-imperialism and imperialist war and world peace are no longer valid; that the Leninist concept that 'imperialism generates war' is invalid in today's context. In Gorbachov's opinion: 'The capitalist-imperialists and we are together sailing in the same ship, either we will live together or will sink together.' So according to him, there is no need now to fight against capitalism-imperialism. What we need now is, 'appeal to reason and good intentions'. 'Through peaceful competition of the two systems the people will come to realise which one is better'. 'Through all these', Com. Chanda observed, 'the Gorbachov leadership is trying to negate the fundamental class outlook of the working class on capitalism-imperialism. Through all this, the Gorbachov leadership is trying to negate the overriding necessity of building up and intensifying the anti-capitalist - imperialist liberation and revolutionary struggles and militant peace movements against the imperialist war mongers. What does it have to do with Marxism-Leninism?' Comrade Chanda asked.

It is being argued that let there be free ex-

pression of diverse views and diverse thinkings. At one stage they talked of introducing multiparty system; later they said—no, there would be one party. But in the communist party too, they said, diverse views would be allowed — what they call pluralism of ideas. Outwardly, it may sound to many as something very much democratic and supra-class. But judged critically, as I said earlier, these are echoes of liberal bourgeois phrases. Marxism always emphasises the importance of debates, deliberations and discussion in dialogue. You know, time and again, Comrade Ghosh stressed the need to debate, deliberate and make open discussions. But these with what object? The object is to arrive at the truth. And, as you are aware, in regard to any particular thing there can be one and only one truth; there cannot be plurality of truth in regard to any particular thing. So, in a communist party, debates, deliberations and discussion in dialogue will always be there — but with the singular object of dialectical interaction of thoughts. Elaborating and enriching the Leninist principle of democratic centralism in a communist party, Comrade Ghosh showed that the inner struggle

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A partial view of the meeting at Saheed Minar Maidan on 5th August.

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in a genuine communist party was struggle to attain one process of thinking, uniformity of thinking, oneness in approach and singleness of purpose. Where is then room for diverse thinking, disparate ideas or 'pluralism of ideas' in a true communist party? Gorbachov's formulations run counter to the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism,' Comrade Chanda observed.

He pointed out: 'Even as he is pleading for diversity of views the same Gorbachov called upon his partymen at different meetings before the 19th Conference not to elect those who would oppose 'perestroika'. In reality, too, anybody opposing the programmes of 'perestroika' and intending to follow the course shown by Lenin and Stalin is being branded as 'dogmatist', 'conservative', 'bureaucratic', etc. and is being uprooted'. Do we find it difficult then to realise the true objective of 'glasnost' after all this?'

Comrade Chanda next turned to analysing the real significance of 'perestroika'. He said: 'Gorbachov cites the problems and crises of the Soviet economy as the background for his programmes of 'perestroika'. His argument is that the Soviet economy has reached a state of stagnation; there is inflation, price rise, deficit budget, devaluation of rouble, etc. If this is the reality,

what does all this crises point to? Our question here is: Why is this crisis in the Soviet economy? How could it be created? Bypassing the question, the Gorbachov leadership is keen on apportioning the blame on the predecessors and, in the process, even holding Stalin's policies of the thirties responsible for the present crises. Our question to them: If crises appears in economy in socialism, will it not have to be solved in accordance with the law of socialist economy? Is it possible to solve it by adopting capitalist measures? But the measures prescribed by the Gorbachov leadership for what they paint as an intense crisis of the socialist economy are nothing but capitalist politico economic steps. This is the reason why they have started afresh an anti-Stalin propaganda. At the recently held First Congress of our party, our beloved General Secretary Comrade Nihar Mukherjee observed: 'Thus the present Soviet leadership finds it difficult to accomplish without completely erasing the impact of Stalin's formulations of the socialist economic laws and the measures and guidelines suggested by him for socialist re-construction.' Because, basing himself on the teachings of Marx-Engels and Lenin and applying these in the concrete situation it was Comrade Stalin who formulated the basic economic laws of socialism and

laid down the guidelines to lead socialism to its correct goal.

You are aware that after prolonged deliberations in the CPSU on the politico-economic laws of socialism, Comrade Stalin laid down the guidelines prior to his death in his celebrated book, 'Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR'. He showed that both the law of commodity circulation and the law of value were operative under socialism. But the operation of these laws does not *ipso facto* signify capitalism to be at work. Because, in the transitional phase of socialism commodity production is not the same in character as commodity production under capitalism. Under socialism, commodity production is under the control of the socialist state and in accordance with centralised socialist planning directed toward development and consolidation of socialism. In this connection he showed how by utilising the opportunities and benefits of commodity circulation under collective farms in the interest of the socialist economy, collective farms were to be elevated gradually to the stage of state farms, that is public property, and how, through a long process of growth and development into the communist society, commodity circulation system had to be transformed into product exchange system. Comrade Stalin gave the caution that the sphere of commodity production in the socialist economy would have to continuously controlled and res-

tricted through a long-drawn process and in no way should it be widened. As against this the present Soviet leadership, in the name of solving the crisis, is encouraging cooperative farming in agricultural production, giving the peasants the right to ownership of land, introducing the 'lease' and 'contract' system in industry and agriculture, 'piece rate' system in industry and thereby widening the sphere of commodity production. That is to say, they have taken to a course, exactly opposite to that showed by Comrade Stalin. Gorbachov has even made a suggestion that the necessity has arisen to bring about a change in the production relation. It is an acknowledged truth that under socialism the production relation has to be developed continuously for unhindered growth and development of the productive forces. But undoubtedly this development has to be conducted in accordance with the law of socialist economy. It can never mean an about-turn to capitalism. But that is precisely what the Gorbachov leadership is willing to accomplish. Whither will 'perestroika' lead the Soviet socialist system — this is question causing the gravest concern today in the international communist movement.

All communists worth the name, the exploited people and all having concern for truth know that the socialist programmes of the CPSU under Stalin's leadership brought the Soviet Union to its glorious height of

strength and prosperity. In a period of 7 years from 1945 to 1952, after the unprecedented devastation due to the Second World War, Stalin had not only resurrected the Soviet socialist economy, it became tremendously powerful under his leadership, setting an ideal for the whole world to emulate. How can we deny then that Stalin's correct policies made possible the Soviet Union to attain this stage? How can Stalin's policies be held responsible for all the crisis of the Soviet economy Gorbachov now cites. The responsibility lies squarely and solely with the revisionist leadership usurping power after the death of Stalin. How can one expect that the Soviet economy would remain free from the impact of the revisionist line pursued in the ideological sphere during the last 30-35 years since the Khrushchovite revisionist clique/usurped power in the Soviet party and the State? The impact is bound to hit and the present developments are precisely the outcome of that impact. It cannot be denied therefore, that the present Soviet leadership, out to damage the foundation of the socialist economy in that country, is letting loose canards against Stalin, in their bid to hide this truth.

'But, against this, there is opposition too, Comrade Chanda pointed out. That is, there is the anti-thesis, too. Earlier, too, we pointed it out time and again. This reality of opposition proves that despite their prolonged bid since the days of Khrushchov, the revisionist Soviet leadership has not succeeded in totally negating Stalin, his great contributions and teachings. To confuse and mislead the present generation of the Soviet people the Gorbachov leadership is trying to distort history and induce the Soviet people in accepting their

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Speaking Comrade Pritish Chanda (Left) and Comrade Provash Ghosh (right) on 5th August.

BANGLADESH MASS STRUGGLE

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Hindu revivalist Santan Dal, the Chief Minister himself hurriedly ordered an enquiry and the CPI (M) State Secretary declared: Our people are in the ranks of Santan Dal, they vote for us; it was not right for the police to fire upon them. Take the recent deplorable communal riot in Murshidabad district of West Bengal. Those who stopped a train on 24th June last and murdered some passengers, those who trapped some Muslims in unfamiliar alleys of Berhampore and murdered them — who are they? Are they common people or religious Hindus? No, such murderers cannot be bracketed in these categories. They are murderers — this is their only credential! And it is a fact that these murders were given protection by the police - administration and the ruling political parties. The area where there was organised killings of innocent people, is known as a strong base of the CPI(M) and other ruling parties. Is this why Jyoti Basu summarily declared that there would be no enquiry? Why not? Has not the CPI(M) time and again raised the demand for judicial enquiry into numerous instances of communal riots, including those at Jamshedpur, Ahmedabad, Bhiwandi and Maliana? Was not the justified demand for putting the Congress(I) on the dock raised? So, if the people of West Bengal now demand an enquiry into the Murshidabad incident for punishing the guilty, why should it not be acceded to? Is it because it was the killers and not the killed in Murshidabad who belonged to the "Left" Front? How will such "Left" forces arouse secular democratic consciousness? Even their talks about communal amity can have no credibility to the people! The Muslim League which they are calling communal, is out and out a communal party, but did not the CPI(M) have close political ties with the very

same Muslim League in Kerala for a long time? When questions were raised, CPI(M) took recourse to the lame excuse that the Muslim League "is the party of a community but not a communal party"! The CPI(M) General Secretary Namboodiripad now off and on preaches secularism. But is it not a fact that during the last election in Kerala, it was Namboodiripad who, in the name of fighting the Hindu communal politics of BJP-Hindu Munnani entente, himself waxed eloquent on the Aryan civilisation with the object of pampering the same Hindu mentality for securing electoral gain? It is also a recent undisputable fact that the CPI(M) government in Kerala, with the object of establishing its authority over the Guruvayur (Vishnu) temple there to secure a share in its annual income of about 8 crore rupees, inducted into the management board of the temple one of its leaders, a teacher called P. N. Narayan; What is worse is that the said CPI(M) leader, to prove that he is a devout Hindu, visits the temple everyday bare-bodied clad only in a dhoti, with sandal-paste mark on his forehead. Such is the real face of Namboodiripad's secularism! In West Bengal, the CPI (M) does post-election analysis of victories and defeats by the yardstick of relative proportion of Hindus and Muslims, Bengalees and Biharies among the electorate. To explain the CPI(M) reverses in the industrial belt of West Bengal in the 1987 election, the CPI(M) leadership stated: The Bihari Muslims did not vote for the CPI(M) as their allegiance lies in Bihar. Such is the secular politics of the CPI(M)!

In the Leftist democratic consciousness in Bangladesh, the understanding is crystal clear that Ershad is working for a revival of Islamic fundamentalism with the sole object of crippling the mass and

class struggles there. In India, too, the ruling class and its chief political agent, the Congress (I), are skilfully working for revival of Hindu fundamentalism in a subtle manner with the same object of destroying people's unity and emasculating the mass and class struggles. But the big "Leftist" parties in this country are not coming out in bold protest against this heinous conspiracy of the ruling class. Rather, in the interest of election politics they, too, are subtly pursuing the same communal & parochial politics, though they do not lack in verbal slogans in support of secularism. There is another brand of Marxist-Leninists (!) in our country who find ingredients of proletarian liberation movement in the parochial - secessionist movements of the confused sections of particular religious - linguistic - ethnic groups of people. What more painful can be than this?

So, we can take many a lesson from the struggle of the Bangladesh people. They are not placing before their people such hotch-potch "theories" that Ershad regime's foreign policy is progressive while its domestic policies are reactionary. The Leftist forces there, too have demanded resignation of despotic Ershad, but not with the eye on election interest. This has emerged as the main demand from the masses through the process of protracted mass movement. Though they differ in ideology and policy, thirty parties and groups have joined hands and the people have rallied round their leadership to build up movement shedding blood. And in our country, at the very signs of a pro-movement sentiment of the people, the "Leftist" parties in the govern-

ment are trying to scuttle all out Opposition unity on various pretexts lest the ensuing mass agitation gets channelised against them too. At the same time, in order to keep the path of future opportunistic electoral adjustments open, they are maintaining liaison and hobnobbing with other Opposition parties.

We may recall that during the Indian freedom struggle, when the National Congress was stricken with Hindu revivalist conduct of its leaders, the Hindu-Muslim unity endangered and the Muslim masses confused at the upsurge of the two-nation theory on the basis of religion, that posed no insurmountable problem to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. The term "Azad Hind" coined by him epitomised communal harmony. Netaji was not bothered by the question of communalism because whereas to the Congress leadership freedom meant a passport to Governmental power, to him it meant liberation of the Indian masses from the clutches of foreign subjugation. So, to him, the main thing was the uncompromising freedom struggle against British imperialism. He knew, it was this struggle that would weld together people from different religions, castes and communities and he succeeded in this task. How can we be oblivious of this truth unless we totally forget history? If we in this country merely preach secularism and communal harmony but do not build up people's united movement against the conspiracy of the ruling class to tear into pieces

the unity of the exploited masses by engineering a revival of fundamentalism, then what is the worth of such preaching and what is its purpose?

Under Zia's rule in Pakistan, the Shariat dispensation is going to be placed above Constitutional laws. Ershad is singing to the glory of Islam. And here Rajiv Gandhi says that with computer in hand and spiritual thinking in the heart, we shall march along the path to progress. Government patronage is being accorded to the Sankaracharya of Puri, an advocate of murder in the name of Sati. Iran is reeling under fundamentalist excesses of Khomeini. Throughout Europe, eulogizing of the Church is on again. Trampling upon the history of the epoch-making renaissance of Europe, Margaret Thatcher declares: We are a nation whose ideals are founded on the Bible. Reagan is glorifying Christianity. All of them today have a book of scriptures in one hand and the crackwhip of despotism in the other. Because, in all these countries, poverty and unemployment are on the increase by leaps and bounds, discontent of the working class is nearing flash-point and movement against the rape of democracy crystallising. Any recipe, formula or platitude proves ineffective. So, fascism is the last resort of the ruling class today. Religion is appearing as the weapon to submerge the nation in blind fanaticism and bigotry. Deep conspiracy is afoot to throw us into the fathomless depth of degradation. Stand up we must, and resist!

5th AUGUST

Movements in Kerala

(Contd. from page 5)

anti-Marxist-Leninist policies and measures. For this reason, developing a worldwide intense ideological struggle against revisionism has become the most urgent and immediate task. And the most upto-date and higher understanding of Marxism-Leninism we need to be equipped with in this struggle is provided by the thoughts and teachings of the great leader of the proletariat, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Let us, therefore, take this pledge today as we observe Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day :

Following the path shown by Com. Shibdas Ghosh and holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, we will strive constantly to unite all genuine communists and the working class of all countries of the world and intensify our struggle against world capitalism-imperialism and conduct an intense and relentless ideological and organisational struggle against modern revisionism to free the working class the common people and the communist movement from the influence of revisionism ;

We will build up a countrywide democratic mass movement on the immediate and burning issues in the life of the people of our country and intensify this struggle to accelerate the pace of socialist revolution and, in this course, extend our ideological and moral support to the forces within the Soviet Union who are fighting against the extreme revisionist line pursued by the Gorbachev leadership.

Turning to the national situation Com. Chanda pointed out : 'The ruling bourgeoisie of the country is bringing fascist onslaughts on the people

one after another. Draconian laws are being enacted to deny the people their democratic rights and deploy police and military to rule the country. On the other side, the Opposition parties including the CPI(M) and the CPI, are clamouring for resignation of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and fresh elections to Parliament, as if a new Prime Minister or a new Government of one or more of these parties could provide the people's alternative. Can mere change of personnel or change of Government in the existing capitalist set up bring solution to the people's basic problems? The people want movement, legitimate democratic mass movements on the burning and immediate issues in their life. That is the real alternative for the people. But these Parliamentary Opposition parties have no real programme of mass movement.'

'Our party, the SUCI', Comrade Chanda reminded, 'has been appealing to the people and all Left, democratic and Opposition parties and forces to forge a broad-based unity to fight the fascist conspiracy of the ruling bourgeoisie. We urge the people to rally round the SUCI, the party reared and trained by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, and march towards the revolutionary goal. Let us recall the teachings of Comrade Ghosh, grasp them concretely in the present concrete situation and apply them correctly to solve the basic problems facing us. Fascism, the greatest enemy of mankind, has cast its dark shadow across this country. It is time we wake up, we join hands, we fight together to build the arch of triumph of humanity by defeating and burying capitalism - imperialism-fascism.'

Protest against Mahatma Gandhi University Act

The Kerala State Committee of the AIDS O observed Protest Day on June 30 last against the MGU Act formulated by the CPI(M)-led Left Democratic Front Government of the State. In the protest demonstrations organised throughout the state, the leaders of the AIDS O cautioned the people against this black Act aimed at encroaching upon the autonomy of the university.

Hospitals and other Institutions Bill '87 Opposed

In response to the call given by the National Council of AIDS O to protest against the draconian Hospitals and Other Institutions Bill '87, the Kerala State unit of the AIDS O observed Black Day on 29th July, '88 in different schools, colleges and universities. On the day the students wore black badges, distributed pamphlets, organised institutional and local level demonstrations and gate meetings hoisting black flags. The student leaders in their address high-

lighted the dangerous propositions of the Bill and appealed to all concerned to organise a strong protracted movement so that the heinous move of the Central Congress(I) Government is defeated.

As in other districts when the students were organising a peaceful black flag demonstration in Kayamkulam of Alleppey district, the SFI-DYFI workers, their hoodlums attacked the demonstrators and mercilessly beaten them up and the girls were not spared. Braving the attack the peaceful protesters tried to enter into the A.E.O. office to submit a memorandum when the organised goondas forcibly obstructed the students in entering the office premises and again assaulted them. Police help was sought. But they instead taking any steps against attackers arrested comrades Raju, Siraj and Mani.

The state unit of the AIDS O organised a series of protest meetings in all corners of the state on July 30, August 1, 2 and 3 in protest against the brutal attack of the SFI and DYFI on the DSO members and general students. The students at large were taken aback to see the SFI-DYFI, posing to be the champion of anti-Congress(I) movements, unleashing brutal attacks on the DSO workers engaged in movements against the Central Government's anti-people Hospitals and Other Institutions (Redressal of Grievances of Employees) Bill '87.

Demonstration against N P E attacked

On July 4 last, when the AIDS O workers of Kannadi High School and Kongad High School were protesting against the implementation of National Policy on Education by the CPI(M)-led state government in observance of "School Education Protection Day", the SFI hoodlums mounted attack on the protesters in front of Kongad High School in which Com. Rajis Mathai, President, Palghat District Committee of the AIDS O, was severely assaulted while he was addressing the rally. The student community in general severely condemned and strongly protested against this dastardly attack by the SFI and the incident created a strong commotion in the locality.

Protest Demonstrations against Introduction of Navodaya School

After a week-long campaign the Kerala State Committee of AIDS O organised in different districts protest demonstrations on May 15, the day scheduled for Admission Test to the Navodaya Schools. The demonstrations followed dharnas in public places.

In Ernakulam a large number of demonstrators were arrested by the police and in the sit-in demonstrations the students leaders called upon the people of the state to foil the fascist New National Policy on Education of Central Government and implemented by the CPI(M)-led State Government of Kerala by introducing Navodaya Schools.

Joint Protest in States against Black Bills

As a part of the all-out attempt of the ruling class to foist fascism on the country the Congress (I) Government at the Centre is trying its best to snatch away all the trade union rights of the workers and employees of the country so long enjoyed by them. Thus they have introduced in the Parliament two black Bills, namely, the Trade Unions and Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill, 1988 and the Hospitals and other Institutions (Redressal of Grievances of Employees) Bill, '87. To foil the mischievous design of the Centre the National Campaign Committee (NCC) of the Central trade unions, in its Convention held on 14th July '88 in Delhi, has adopted a programme of joint action and gave a call to organise joint protest demonstrations in all the State headquarters on 27th July last. Accordingly the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) acted and organised protest demonstrations in different States and so far apart from West Bengal reports of this programme have come from Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka which we publish in this issue.

CALCUTTA

In response to the call of the Convention of the National Campaign Committee the West Bengal State units of the UTUC (LS), BMS, HMS, NFITU, IFTU and AICCTU observed mass civil disobedience before the Raj Bhawan on 27th July '88. Two thousand three hundred and thirtyseven demonstrators courted arrest on this occasion under the leadership of Com. Fatick Ghosh UTUC (LS), Rashbehari Moitra (BMS), Bhajan Dasgupta (HMS), Anil Sen (NFI-

TU), Phani Bagchi (IFTU) and Subhendu Chatterjee (AICCTU).

Earlier, thousands of workers and employees representing all the industries and public sector undertakings in and around Calcutta Howrah, Hooghly, North and South 24 Parganas etc. assembled at the Raja Subodh Mullick Square where a meeting was held. On behalf of the UTUC (LS) Comrade Fatick Ghosh explained the grave danger posed by the said Bill and urged upon all to resist this onslaught unitedly. Com. Ghosh also expressed his regret for the absence of the CITU and Other central trade union AITUC from this programme of united protest. leaders also addressed the gathering.

After the meeting, a ten thousand strong colourful and disciplined procession carrying banners and shouting slogans against the draconian trade union Bills proceeded towards Sidho-Kanho-Dahar (Esplanade East) where police arrested 2337 workers, employees, trade union organisers and leaders for breaking police cordon.

BANGALORE

A joint protest demonstration was organised by the State unit of the UTUC (LS), AIDTO and Medical Unit of the party in front of the Raj Bhawan at Bangalore on 27th July last—the opening day of the monsoon session of the Parliament, to voice protest against the two black Bills being tabled in the Parliament.

A large number of workers, leaders, doctors, nurses and employees of various institutions participated in the protest demonstration raising slogans demanding scrapping of the Bills. In front of the Raj Bhawan the

RELEASE NELSON MANDELA UNCONDITIONALLY



18th July being the 70th birthday of Nelson Mandela, leader of the South African Freedom movement, AIDSO, DYCO, MSS and Pathikrit echoed the voice of all the freedom loving people of the whole world against the racist Botha regime to free Nelson Mandela languishing in the prison of South Africa for long 26 years. The four mass-organisations on that day staged a protest demonstration in front of the information centre of USA, protector of the racist regime, and organised street - corner meeting after which an effigy of Pic Botha was burnt. The four mass organisations also sent a telegram to Mrs. Winnie Mandela expressing solidarity with the freedom struggle of South African people and demanding unconditional release of Nelson Mandela.

gathering was addressed by Com. K. Radhakrishna, President of the UTUC (LS), Karnataka Com. K. Venugopal of AIDTO, Com. Gangadhar of the Medical unit and Sri Jhippeswamy of the All India Government Nurses Federation.

Later, a delegation from the four organisations, the UTUC (LS), AIDTO, Medical Unit, and AIGNF met the Governor and submitted a memorandum demanding immediate withdrawal and scrapping of the Bills.

BHOPAL

Responding to the call given by the National Campaign Commi-

tee, thousands of workers and employees working in different industrial undertakings and establishments staged a well decorated and organised demonstration before the Raj Bhawan at Bhopal on 27th July demanding withdrawal of the Trade Unions and Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill and Hospitals and Other Institutions (R.G.E.) Bill.

Workers and members belonging to different central trade unions like the UTUC (LS), BMS, HMS, AITUC, CITU along with BHEL workers, Rajya Karma-chari Sangh and Railway employees took part in the protest demonstra-

tion. A cyclonic weather and heavy rains for the last two days could not prevent the working people from participating in the protest rally against the black Bills.

Aloke Pratap Singh UTUC (LS), Jamma Prasad Shastri (HMS), G. Shrivastava (AITUC) and Aravind Moghi (BMS) addressed the rally and all the speakers bitterly criticised the proposed Bills and demanded immediate withdrawal of the same.

In Kerala, the State unit of the AIDSO organised protest movement in educational institutions of the State, whereupon the SFI mounted attacks. (Report elsewhere)

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